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Additional Information

# Gender discrimination in haute cuisine: A systematic literature and media analysis

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## ABSTRACT

Haute cuisine has become an essential activity within the hospitality industry, and gastronomy plays a vital role in tourism economics, receiving significant attention from the media each day. Thus, women's access to the culinary profession and their barriers to progress in the field to chef status have been profusely studied within the academic literature and covered by global media. This article will analyze and compare how academia and media have dealt with the issue of gender discrimination in haute cuisine, whether their conclusions are similar, and what they outline; it is a relevant contribution with an original literature analysis on gender and haute cuisine.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Work gender discrimination: the case of hospitality

It has been accepted that gender supports the development of social statuses in assigning rights and responsibilities and, therefore, encourages unequal social structures (Lorber, 1994).

Gender or racial discrimination reflect social codes that transmit to people how they are supposed to think of themselves and interact with others. Gender identification and its associated norms then become a relevant factor in work environments (Akerlof and Kranton, 2010). Global social reports have identified how gender inequalities are linked to politics, history, and culture and how these affect the relations between men and women and individuals' choices, freedoms and capabilities (UNDP, 2019).

Furthermore, it has been pointed out how gender beliefs may account for performance differences in a given activity (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Work gender discrimination has economic consequences due to the inefficient underutilization of women in production (Jacobsen, 1998). Although the causes of workplace discrimination have generally been based in conflict theory and cognitive biases where discriminatory beneficiaries pursue their privileges, other authors (Reskin, 2000) emphasize that, in a competitive work environment, and dominant cohorts tend to discriminate between their subordinate groups by intentionally creating organizational structures to preserve or enhance their privileged position. Thus, it has been determined how gender stereotyping in workplaces is predictably com-

bined with sex composition and corporate policies, often through the interactional dynamics of discretionary policies, resulting in discrimination (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011).

Regarding hospitality, despite women's representation in the global workforce, their numerical dominance is not reflected in the roles they occupy, either in management or education (Baum, 2013; Figueroa et al., 2015; Westwood et al., 2000; Pritchard and Morgan, 2017; Walters, 2018).

However, the hospitality sector is highly relevant for women's employment and entrepreneurship opportunities (Morgan and Pritchard, 2019) but there are numerous reports of how hazardous this work environment is, especially for vulnerable employees (i.e., Poulson, 2007; Hoel and Einarsen, 2003): precarious working conditions, long and irregular shifts, arbitrary income such as tipping, a 'customer is always right' mentality, alcohol and drug presence, and sexualized environments where sexual harassment is often suffered, etc. (Leschziner, 2015; Morgan and Pritchard, 2019).

Among the causes of gender discrimination in hospitality, few have been pointed out such as embedded social and domestic roles (Boonabaana, 2014), predominant male values (Segovia-Pérez et al., 2019), and a sexual projection of work practices and employment (Morgan and Pritchard, 2017; 2019).

Thus, the need to increase research into gender discrimination in the various areas of hospitality has been suggested (Morgan and Pritchard, 2019) and certain advances were made at the end of the 1990s (Figueroa et al., 2015).

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## 1.2. Research objectives: gender discrimination in haute cuisine

The objective of this study is analysing the gender discrimination literature in a specific sector of hospitality, haute cuisine. The authors' objective is to review the academic research on gender discrimination and the barriers faced by women in their access to haute cuisine, the access of women to the culinary profession, and their obstacles to progress in the field to chef status. The subject has been profusely studied within the academic literature. An additional contribution is that it will analyse and compare how academia and media have dealt with the issue, whether their findings and conclusions are similar, and what they highlight.

Haute cuisine was initially introduced in France, and its many techniques, work organization, and professional values have been exported to other cultures (Reynolds, 2009, p. 11; Trubek, 2000, p. 3). Fine dining started to be democratized after the French revolution when the chefs left the domestic sphere of the kitchen of nobilities to become public figures and to practice cooking in professional restaurants (Reynolds, 2009; Trubek, 2000; Mennell, 1996). Social and economic changes also contributed to opening the doors of haute cuisine to the public and, later, social and political evolutions contributed to outlining different culinary cultures worldwide (Mennell, 1996).

Why is haute cuisine relevant? According to the World Tourism Organisation, gastronomy plays a significant role in tourism. As a consequence, it is essential in national economies. Six per cent of the Spanish tourism turnover, for example, can be attributed to gastronomy (UNWTO, 2018).

Gender discrimination in this sector shares the aforementioned context with hospitality. Male values are predominant in part due to its military origin (Taylor, 1996; Bourelly, 2010; Robinson, 2013; Cooper et al., 2017). Cooking is a gendered task, and there is a difference between both genders when they cook in the domestic and public spheres (Aarseth and Olsen, 2008; Hermelin et al., 2017; Jonsson et al., 2008; Neuman et al., 2016; Szabo, 2013). This hierarchy is a translation of the social classification and sexual division of labor (Swinbank, 2002). In almost every culture, cooking is considered a female task in the household (Swinbank, 2002), although some authors have noted the continuity between domestic and professional cooking (Farrell, 2016; Lindeman, 2016). With the rise of professional cookery, domestic recipes were transformed into sophisticated ones (Cairns et al., 2010; Silva, 2000; Swinbank, 2002).

In the modern economy and with the increase of women participating in the labor market, men have become more involved in domestic tasks, including cooking (Aarseth, 2009). In the Western world, for example, men cook more domestically, and women work more outside the household. In a study on Scandinavian men's involvement in domestic cooking, Aarseth (2009) argued that partners are challenging the traditional division of domestic tasks. Men have become more involved in daily family work by giving it a new meaning and considering it part of "a joint lifestyle project" (Aarseth, 2009). In the same context, Szabo (2013) discussed how men's involvement in domestic tasks is reframing the masculine identity and widening its scope by including what was traditionally considered feminine. Szabo added that the gendered division of labor would not cease if not accompanied by supportive structural conditions such as family accommodation.

## 2. Research methodology

A qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015) was used following the accepted methodologies for literature reviews (Krippendorff, 2018).

Moreover, a media analysis was also included. The media's representation of the problem may contribute to a better understanding of the social situation (Greeno and Hall, 1997). Furthermore, the media

narrative provides an alternative representation of the research objective (Mesoudi et al., 2006) and it has also been recommended by current feminist research (Fonow and Cook, 2005).

For media analysis, the tools associated with a Google search to identify news, videos, and books related to the subject were applied. This was done using an array of discriminating keywords (i.e., women and female chefs, gender and haute cuisine, kitchen and gender, harassment and kitchen, chef's career and gender). This study was carried out during April–October 2019 and covered the years 2012–2019 after several trials with more extended periods.

Redundant and repetitive material that was not directly related to the search was eliminated through a team consensus. Consequently, a conceptual analysis was conducted (Mayring, 2015; Krippendorff, 2018; Hart, 2018). To organize, manage, and analyze the text in the selected webpages, AtlasTI.7 software was used as a tool to identify the relevant topics and to refine and classify the results (Paulus et al., 2019).

In the case of the academic literature, our research was carried out during 2016–2019 as part of a broader project. The time horizon adopted was 30 years from 1990 when the first articles related to the subject were published. The databases selected were Google Scholar, Web of Science, and Scopus. Additionally, selective searches on the leading hospitality journals ranked by Scimago were carried out. Initially, general search terms such as haute cuisine, gender discrimination, professional cooking gendering, women and female chefs, hospitality restoration, glass ceiling, discrimination, chef careers, and gender were used. Fig. 1 reveals the steps followed (Mayring, 2015; Hart, 2018).

The initial selection resulted in 160 articles, books, and other academic material. Furthermore, an examination of abstracts and articles with a further search to ensure that the topics included professional cuisine in hospitality and gender discrimination to focus on the search field was performed. Following this, 99 journal articles, six book chap-

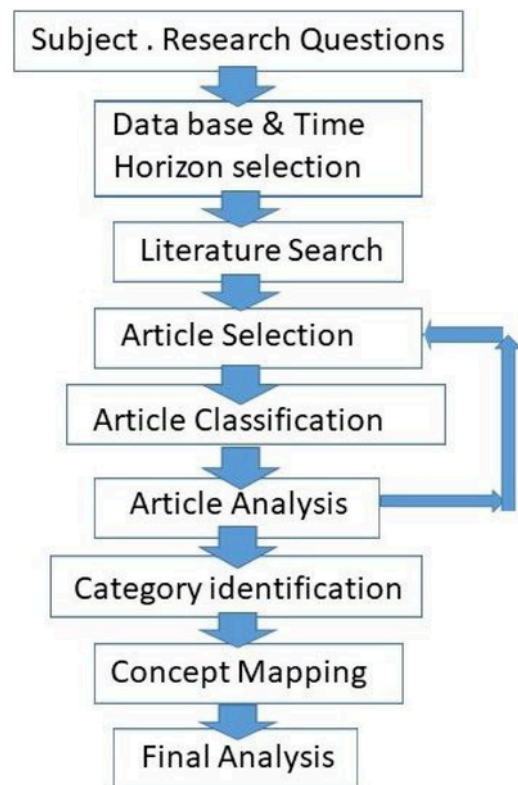


Fig. 1. Literature review phases (Krippendorff, 2018; Mayring, 2015; Hart, 2018).

ters, and one conference paper were selected. In a parallel search, 12 books centred on the subject were found. All the material selected was consistently cited.

Finally, an article classification was carried out with the support of Atlas TI.7 to comprehensively analyze the contents and classify/code them according to specific categories. This includes a concept classification and code frequency analysis of the selected material, according to Mayring (2015). This method allowed the authors to build a map with associations to construct the literature analysis discussion (Krippendorff, 2018; Mayring, 2015).

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Media analysis

Three types of internet media were covered: books, news, and videos. The book results were added to the literature findings due to their similarity. The results were coded according to the topics listed in Table 1.

Fig. 2 shows the fluctuations in Google search findings during 2004–2019 between both search subjects (haute cuisine and gender discrimination). It shows how interest in haute cuisine increased during 2010–2014 and how both trends are related.

How is the media dealing with the subject? Most videos and news items refer to famous or celebrity women chef events, prizes, competitions, famous restaurants owned by female chefs, and news related to them. Others belong to news clips or videos discussing different aspects

**Table 1**  
Google media findings related to gender discrimination in haute cuisine (2009–2019).

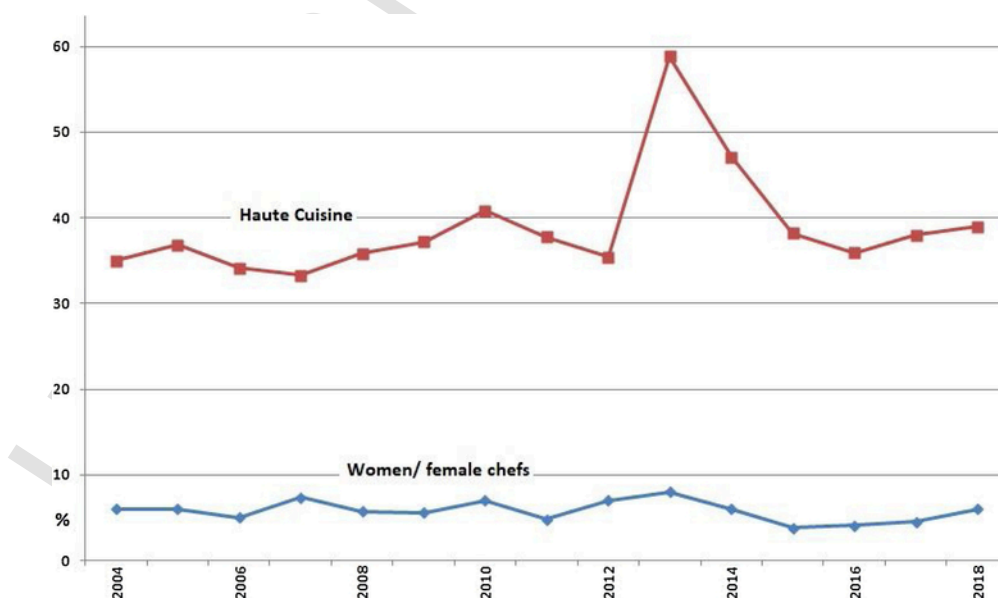
Subject/ Code	Videos	News	Total
Famous women chefs & events	219	407	626
Women chefs discrimination	107	107	214
Challenges	18	27	45
Enablers	21	17	38
Sexual harassment in the kitchen	8	15	23
Race & gender	6	2	8
Michelin stars and gender	8	17	25
Total	387	592	979

related to gender discrimination in haute cuisine, especially the masculine kitchen culture. A third aspect relates to the challenges that women chefs must encounter to progress in their careers. A few news items or videos discuss enablers that help women in their haute cuisine career. In very few cases, sexual harassment is denounced or discussed in the report. Most examples refer to declarations of famous chefs denigrating the presence of women in professional kitchens. Sometimes both gender and race discrimination are considered. Finally, Michelin stars earned by women are remarkable, which attracts media interest.

Table 1 shows the results of this search, which covered the period 2009–2019. The coding results of the exercise with Atlas TI.7 ended with eight primary groups of topics. A significant number of conclusions were associated with news related to famous women chefs and events where they had predominant roles such as prizes, celebrations, shows, accolades, reviews, and the inauguration of restaurants. As will be discussed later, this type of news is most frequently found in media and shows how the careers of women chefs present some exceptionality. The second was news related to discrimination against women in their promotion to haute cuisine chef positions and their difficulties in following their careers. Other aspects of gendering such as the challenges faced by women chefs, enablers facilitating their progression, sexual harassment in the kitchen, race and gender discrimination, and gender issues associated with the award of Michelin stars received minor attention. The rest were either irrelevant news items or descriptions of recipes by women cooks.

Regarding the geographical sources, 62.5 % are from North America, 15.6 % from Europe, 1.5 % from Latin America, 1.5 % from Australasia, and 18.9 % from the rest of the world.

Among the exclusive videos, six TV documentaries dealing with gender discrimination in haute cuisine were identified. “*A Fine Line*” (James, 2018) is a documentary that analyzes the culture of many restaurants led by women chefs. It also includes a panel of renowned female chefs discussing the issue. In “*The Heat: A Kitchen Revolution*” (Gallus, 2017), seven women chefs discuss how they met the challenges of launching their restaurants. “*A la Recherche des Femmes Chefs*” (Fedriani, 2017) is a video documentary promoted by Le Cordon Bleu Institute interviewing world-famous female chefs who are pioneers in Haute gastronomy, restaurants, and wine and food professions about their experiences in the industry. It also discusses women chefs’ careers with some female students of the institute. “A



**Fig. 2.** Media variation in haute cuisine and gender discrimination in Google searches according to Google Trends (2006–2018).NB. The score 0–100 is the ratio of single search term volume to all possible searches.

*Portrait of a Chef as a Young Woman*" (Klein, 2017), episode 163 of *"The Perennial plate"* TV series, depicts Katie Sanderson as a chef without a restaurant jumping from project to project in pursuit of a career. In *"Angie Mar, Owner & Head Chef: The Beatrice Inn"* (Greenberg, 2017), an episode of the *"Inspiring Woman"* web series, the famous restaurateur Angie Mar discusses her experience as owner of her restaurant. *"Hungry"* (Ivins, 2016) is a documentary in which three women chefs reveal the behind-the-scenes challenges women chefs and restaurateurs must meet to finance, build, run, and promote a restaurant in a male-dominated field. In general, these documentaries have a positive message and show women chefs in their kitchen space.

How do internet videos and news sources deal with the subject? With the support of Atlas TI.7, phrases and comments that illustrate the focus of news and videos were coded.

The fact that famous women chefs call media attention has been outlined as discriminating by itself: *"Best female chef is supposed to be a compliment or honour, right? Yet it feels like there is a qualifier or caveat there as if women in professional kitchens cannot handle the heat and stand alongside their male counterparts on merit alone"* (Henry, 2016); *"Four incredible female chefs are teaming up for a special dinner in New York City"* (Liao, 2019). Some articles project an aggressive or beneficial role of women chefs: *"Badass female chefs from across Colorado are taking over Old Major, a local American cuisine restaurant"* (Chancellor, 2018); *"Celebrating the badass women who drive LA's food scene"* (Rodell, 2017); *"Baking the World A Better Place"* (Tucker, 2019). However, celebrity women chefs have played a leading role in changing the perception of female professional cooking: *"She [Julia Child] was a female chef that changed the way we look at women in the world of cooking"* (Manning, 2013).

Discrimination against women chefs and the kitchen environment is denounced more directly: *"It is easier for a woman to become a CEO than a Head Chef"* (James, 2018); *"Chef David Hawksworth's comments on female chefs infuriates industry"* (DH, 2019); *"A Brooklyn pastry chef with a male-sounding name was hired sight unseen in Manhattan and promptly fired when she showed up, and they learned she was a woman, a lawsuit claims"* (Boniello, 2019); *"Men have a disproportionate share of power in the restaurant world for a whole host of reasons—male-dominated networks, male-centric kitchens, men's preference for investing in other men...important cooking is done by men"* (McCarron, 2018); *"Less than 7% of restaurants in the United States are led by female chefs"* (Hartke, 2018); *"There seem to be so many men on Master Chef this year, where are all the women?"* (Cable, 2012); *"Restaurants are a reflection of our wider culture, of course, where institutionalized sexism, racism, and homophobia are entrenched; Ninety per cent of female restaurant workers report being sexually harassed on the job, according to a 2014 report by Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC) United and Forward Together"* (Henry, 2016); *"The lack of women is partly due to the sexist nature of professional kitchens and also to the instability of restaurant life. In some places, the sex-drugs-and-rock-n-roll kitchen style reinforces those stereotypes"* (McCart, 2012); *"Society has classified the restaurant kitchen to be a high-testosterone environment that encourages boisterous, abusive behaviour where women have no place. Girls, therefore, are strongly discouraged even from applying to hotel management institutes"* (Zacharias, 2016). Furthermore, salary discrimination seems to be part of the gender discrimination: *"Female chefs make 28.3% less in base pay than their male colleagues"* (Fuhrmeister, 2016).

The challenges that women chefs must overcome in their professional careers have been widely discussed: *"At 48, Darroze is that rare thing: a mother and a female chef operating at the top of her game in an industry still overwhelmingly dominated by men"* (Day, 2015). *"Restaurant work is not family-friendly—long, late hours and working on weekends and holidays make balanced family life difficult, if not nearly impossible, say female area chefs like Krowicka"* (King, 2019). These challenges are

common as well to the entrepreneurial initiatives: *"Women Chef and Restaurateurs Lee-Charlson declared that when women open a restaurant, they have a harder time getting funding to launch it"* (DeBaun, 2018). Gender cooking has also been reflected: *"Women are seen as home cooks, not chefs"* (Evans, 2019). Work and family life seem to be difficult to make compatible: *"For an industry based on hospitality, restaurants are notably inhospitable to workers who want children, says Erin Smith"* (Kalyan, 2018); *"When there are two or three key positions held by women, it encourages young people in the restaurant to strive for those positions"* (Dixler, 2014); *"We have cooks, a few women, with children. And they're line cooks in the morning; they finish up in the afternoon"* (Dixler, 2014).

Various newspaper articles discuss the "enablers" that facilitate the access and promotion of women to chef positions. There is a coincidence around the role of entrepreneurship to enable women chef careers: *"To eliminate sexism from the kitchen, women chefs just start their own"* (Valenti, 2019); *"Running your own business, you can be more successful, more satisfied, have more control, and make more money"* (Dixler, 2014). Women chefs have a supportive role: *"They're all super supportive of one another and talk about gender politics in the kitchen and how it's changed... But mostly, she said, they want to prop up other female chefs without making [it] into a male-female thing"* (Valenti, 2019). Passion and focus become critical elements in a woman's chef career: *"It's obviously somewhat challenging when you walk into a kitchen and there are 27 men—and you—cooking. But I think it's all about what you make of your situation. I wanted to learn how to cook and become an expert, so I focused on that instead of on gender"* (McCarthy, 2018). Mentorship is also mentioned as a strong facilitator: *"Each rattled off the names of their various mentors who shared some new technique or encouraged them to join a professional network"* (Valenti, 2019). Many female chefs believe that offering mentorships and apprenticeships, as well as having women and women of colour in leadership positions, is critical to establishing equal opportunities within the workplace (Hartke, 2018) or associations such as the Women Chefs and Restaurateurs (WCR), the James Beard Foundation and Les Dames d'Escoffier (Hartke, 2018), or the Women Chefs of Kentucky Initiative, which will sponsor mentorship opportunities for female Kentucky chefs (Weaver, 2018). Leadership is outlined as a strong enabler: *"Running a 70-staff kitchen, according to Carme, Ruscalledda, is not about screaming and swearing. It has to do with body language, posture and tone of voice"* (Narayan, 2014). Others support a new kitchen behaviour culture: *"This is how we end rampant sexism in the restaurant industry...establishing strict and basic standards of behaviour that had to be written out clearly for all to understand"* (Quarles, 2018).

Sexual harassment has been dealt with in various news clips. It seems that harassment may be a frequent occurrence in the context of restaurant work (Gatta, 2014): *"John Besh, one of New Orleans' most prominent chefs, resigned this week as head of the restaurant group that bears his name amid multiple accusations of sexual harassment and misconduct"* (Cooney, 2017); *"MeToo generational divide: For some female chefs, sexual harassment was something you just tolerated"* (Zimmer, 2018); *"In the past year, the restaurant industry has been rocked by widespread sexual assault and harassment charges, with accounts of male chefs behaving beyond badly from coast to coast"* (Henry, 2018).

To a minor extent, gender and race discrimination have been denounced as well. Sometimes women chefs are discriminated against not only due to their gender but also because of their race: *"Black women make up just 4% of chefs and head cooks in American restaurants, and now some are turning up the heat to take a stand in the kitchen"* (Reid, 2019); *"Black people—specifically Black women—have been underrepresented in the culinary industry for decades"* (Wilson, 2018).

Finally, women chefs obtaining Michelin stars have received attention from the media since there are very few of them achieving this prize: *"To be sure, being a woman in an industry that is largely male-dom-*

inated is no easy feat. Here, we pay tribute to nine female chefs who have overcome obstacles and led their restaurants to three Michelin-star status” (Michelin, 2017); “French chef Dominique Crenn on Thursday became the first woman in the United States to earn three Michelin stars for her modernist San Francisco restaurant Atelier Crenn” (Moskin, 2018). However, the positive effect of these awards on the progression of chefs has been challenged (September, 2018).

### 3.2. Academic literature review

The selection process resulted in 12 books, 99 journal articles, five book chapters, and one paper from conference proceedings. The sources belong to various areas including general management, gender journals, and food and hospitality journals.

#### 3.2.1. Books

The books were classified into three primary groups. First, there are autobiographies written by chefs; these memoirs deal with the kitchen environment and outline its rough, masculine environment, the harassment and bullying of employees, and the barriers that women chefs must face. Bourdain’s (2013) *Kitchen Confidential* is the most commonly cited book and has abundant content. A second book, *Blood, Bones & Butter: The Inadvertent Education of a Reluctant Chef* by Gabrielle Hamilton (2011), covers the memoirs of a female chef spanning her infancy up to her success at Prune, a famous restaurant. The book describes the experiences she endured and the development of her skills. There are ten pages (180–191) dedicated to male cooking and female chefs’ movements and her opinions are rather skeptical on the female cooks movement. Three books are more anecdotal (Reynolds, 2009; Samuelsson and Chambers, 2012; Ramsay, 2006) but also reflect the refractory kitchen atmosphere. The second group of books (De Vault, 1991) discuss the gendering of domestic vs. professional cooking masculinity, which is the social theory base of this research. A third group discusses the chefs’ careers; Dornenburg and Page (2003) published a best-selling book interviewing 60 famous chefs about the relevant points in their careers, outlining the position of women being chefs. A book by Druckman (2012) called “*Skirt Steak*”, based on interviews with 73 female chefs, discusses the career of women chefs, the barriers they face, the stressful kitchen environment, which enablers help them, and the leadership models adopted. Finally, Cooper’s (1998) book “*A Woman’s Place is in the Kitchen*” surveys 500 female chefs and other culinary staff. Women face particular hardships in the culinary workplace and are positioned in subordinate roles. The book discusses their particular competencies. Harris and Giuffre (2015), with their book “*Taking the Heat*”, based on interviews with 33 women chefs in Texas, discuss how they endure the strong stereotypes of professional cooking and solve their conflicts with their family and social life. Fine (2008), with his book “*Kitchens the culture of restaurant work*”, based on a qualitative approach in the mid-west of the USA tries to describe the daily lives of kitchen workers, seeking to discuss how an American restaurant works, as well as its culinary culture. Sociologist Stephen Mennell (1996) published a book entitled “*All manners of food: eating and taste in England and France*”, a comparative history of culinary culture between both countries. The author discusses the relationship patterns between both culinary cultures and concludes, among other themes, that in England women did comparatively better than their French counterparts in the cooking profession and many of the earliest English cooking books were written by women.

#### 3.2.2. Journal articles

Table 2 shows the distribution of the results among journal subjects and the impact according to their citations to date. Independently of the books with higher impact scores, the hospitality and gender journals show the highest number and impact of publications in this study.

**Table 2**  
Literature search results from distribution among subject journals.

Journal subject area/Other	Number	Citations
Gender	15	715
Sociology	10	424
Hospitality	58	2676
Food	4	140
Management	12	509
Subtotal	99	4464
Other chapters, working papers, and proceedings	7	128
Books	12	5770

Hospitality journals are led by the International Journal of Hospitality Management with 17 results. Table 3 illustrates the number of articles published by all hospitality-related journals and their citation impact.

Using AtlasTI.7, the coding of the books, journal articles, and book chapters allowed us to identify 24 codes. These codes are gathered into seven families according to the codes’ coincidence. Each article has been classified into one family, which determined the main topic discussed. Table 4 offers some indication of the frequency of the general codes, number of articles, the predominant journals, and its research methodology. It must be stated, however, that there is overlap in the subjects since articles deal with more than one subject in many cases.

In the boundary between sociology and haute cuisine, articles classified under the family code “food and masculinity” were found. In these papers, the dichotomy posed by the masculine cultural aspects of professional cooking vs. the feminine stereotype of domestic cooking were addressed. In the same way, its evolution and how this consideration has been a barrier for the access of women to the professional career of a chef were presented. Twelve articles cover this hypothesis (Silva, 2000; Swinbank, 2002; Aarseth and Olsen, 2008; Aarseth, 2009; Cairns et al., 2010; Szabo, 2013; Leer, 2016; Meah and Jackson, 2013; Neuman and Fjellström, 2014; Neuman et al., 2015; Steno and Friche, 2015; Hermelin et al., 2017); one book (DeVault, 1991) and two book chapters (Hollows, 2016; Packham, 2016) follow the same paradigm. Nevertheless, Farrell (2016) challenges it, posing the case of Mexican culture, where the author outlines “we see continuity between the domestic food works and the skilled professional cooking” (p. 6). Various news clips outlining the predominance of women chefs in Mexico and the USA were also found in this research (Gilman, 2013; Critchley, 2019). As could be expected, except for three conceptual papers, the rest of this group follows a qualitative research methodology. The involved journals are focused on gender issues and sociology.

Despite these findings, is there an influence of the diverse local cultural contexts where haute cuisine has developed? The importance of

**Table 3**  
Literature search results from distribution among hospitality journals.

JOURNAL	Number	Google scholar cites
International Journal of Hospitality Management	17	798
Journal of Culinary Science & Technology	6	50
International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management	8	884
Tourism management	4	185
Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research	2	
Annals of Tourism Research	2	173
Cornell Hospitality Quarterly	4	259
Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research	2	106
Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism	2	30
Other hospitality journals	11	191
Subtotal	58	2818

**Table 4**  
Code frequency, journals, and research characteristics.

Subject/Code	Frequency	Number of articles focused on the subject	Predominant journals	Predominant methodology
Gender job discrimination	401	21	Hospitality	Quantitative
Cultural context	97	6	Hospitality	Qualitative
Careers of women chefs	191	13	Hospitality	50/50
Presence in social media	79	4		Qualitative
Leadership of chefs & women chefs	80	4	Hospitality	Qualitative
Enablers to women chefs	68	10	Hospitality	Qualitative
Food and masculinity	65	12	Gender/Sociology	Qualitative
Chefs celebrity	67	5		Qualitative
Barriers to women chefs	52	17	Hospitality/Food	50/50
Mentoring	51	4	Hospitality	Qualitative
Glass ceiling	48	4	Hospitality	Qualitative
Stressful kitchen environment	43	9	Hospitality	Qualitative
Chef learning	40		Hospitality	
Family and social barriers	36		Hospitality	
Chef entrepreneurship	25		Hospitality	
Chef competencies	21	11	Hospitality/Management	Quantitative
Gender salary discrimination	19	3	Hospitality	Quantitative
Passion for food. Drive, determination	18			
Obtaining Michelin stars	18			
Chef satisfaction	17		Hospitality	
Chef creativity	13	2	Hospitality	
Success of women chef careers	17	4	Hospitality	Quantitative
Race discrimination	5	1	Hospitality	
Gastronomic industry	3		Food	
Literature analysis	3	3	Hospitality	

the cultural context in gender discrimination in haute cuisine has been dealt with directly by very few authors. Various authors have emphasized that the cultural aspects are essential in the socialization process of chefs (Johns and Menzel, 1999; Bloisi and Hoel, 2008) and this is evident when there are clusters of cooks and chefs of a given origin (Bourdain, 2013). Thus, “A successful kitchen is also a school and a space for productive intercultural exchange” (Farrer, 2015, p.9).

There are two schools of thought. The first attributes haute cuisine kitchens, especially those possessing Michelin stars, and an influential unique culture based in a hierarchical organization where chefs impose a strong ethos. Thus, Michelin kitchens become silos where external organizational culture or change are difficult to implement (Cooper et al., 2017; Cameron, 2001). External culinary awards impose their codes of culture (Durand et al., 2007; Ottenbacher and Harrington, 2007). The pressure on creativity, innovation, and quality has been singled out as one cause of a stressful environment which will be discussed later (Leschziner, 2007) Johnson et al., 2008).

A second stream notes that globalization has had some impact on haute cuisine culture, and it has permeated local culture, thus weakening the original French culinary spirit (Mennell, 1996; Lane, 2011).

The relevance of formal education in shaping haute cuisine kitchen culture has been controversially highlighted by some authors since their propositions contradict the acknowledged causes of the stress of cuisine kitchens (Jonsson et al., 2008). From the academic education side, Horng and Lee (2009) identify several positive factors which enhance creativity and could be identified with an open gender context such as an encouraging family, supportive mentors, open culinary education, and an appropriate environment. Negative factors could be associated, as will be discussed later, with hierarchical leaderships or tradition. Savino et al. (2017) illustrate this proposal by considering the case of the famous Italian female chef Nadia Santini, a long-time holder of Michelin status in Italy. Black (2018) recognized the differences between culinary schools in France versus the USA with the former having a much more gendered approach: “culinary education is just the beginning of a long and endemic process of gender bias and discrimination” Black (2018, p.2).

A consequence of the food and masculinity paradigm and the cultural context, gender job discrimination, occurs in hospitality and professional kitchens and is discussed as a central topic in 21 journal articles, some of which deal with discrimination in general (Burrell et al., 1997; Campos-Soria et al., 2011; Carvalho et al., 2014; Jeffrey et al., 2018). Other authors have outlined it considering professional kitchen occupations in the hospitality industry (Burrell et al., 1997; Campos-Soria et al., 2011; Carvalho et al., 2014; Costa et al., 2017a,b; Doherty and Manfredi, 2001; Evangelia, 2014; Fungai Zengeni and Zengeni, 2013; Ng and Pine, 2003; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2019; Woods and Viehland, 2000). Moreover, gender discrimination is a cause of stress and turnover in kitchen occupations (Abdullah et al., 2009; Birdir and Canakci, 2014). The subject has also been discussed in the case of TV shows where women chefs were protagonists (Chao, 1998) and with Michelin star chefs (Cooper et al., 2017). Four articles focused their goal on gender discrimination, primarily on salary discrimination (Campos-Soria et al., 2015; Guimarães and Silva, 2016; Casado-Díaz and Simón, 2016; Sparrowe and Iverson, 1999).

Regarding discrimination in hotel functions, the kitchen is an out-place for women: “Women are recruited for jobs deemed as being an extension of their domestic skills as cooks and maids, while men are employed in administrative and managerial activities” (Ferreira et al., 2016, p. 446); “women dominate in functions such as housekeeping and reception, and men, kitchen and bar” (Ng and Pine, 2003, p. 86). “The occupational area where women were most clearly excluded in the UK was the kitchen” (Doherty and Manfredi, 2001, p. 67). Seventeen of these articles were published in hospitality journals, and all of them follow a quantitative research methodology.

Bourelly (2010) explains the paradigm precisely: “Cooking refers, on the one hand, to a socially constructed know-how considered naturally feminine and, on the other hand, to a masculine and even virile trade, that of the chef” (p. 127). This author attributes this to the military and nobility origins of cuisine, hence the term “brigade,” the source of gender discrimination that was discontinued for the first time in 1933 when the Michelin Guide awarded stars to two women, “Mother Eugenie Brazier” and “Mother Marie Bourgeois” in Lyon (followers of Mother Fillioux. Famous as the Queen of Chickens). However, although the working conditions of cooks were initially very harsh and unhealthy, today conditions have improved, and discrimination for environmental reasons is no longer justified. However, it has revealed that gender discrimination started in France in culinary schools (Black, 2018).

The idea of a gender glass ceiling in haute cuisine has been disseminated by the media (i.e., Gill, 2011). However, it has also been applied to the hospitality cooking environment by various authors (Bartholomew and Garey, 1996; Boone et al., 2013; Knutson and Schmidgall, 1999; Sparrowe and Iverson, 1999) with articles published in hospitality journals with quantitative and qualitative studies

This gender job discrimination constitutes the base for the identification of barriers faced by women chefs in their careers by the academy, which is discussed by 17 articles. Allen and Mac Con Iomaire (2016) studied the profile of Irish chefs and concluded that the main barrier for female chefs was family life constraints. Harris and Giuffre (2010b) outline the same results. Through the quantitative study of Wang et al. (2011), hospitality workers in Taiwan contradict this theory, although it must be considered that only 25 % of their sample were kitchen workers. Self-imposed barriers such as work-life balance vs. workplace barriers such as lack of mentoring, career prospects, or a stereotyped perception of feminine traits are outlined by Boone et al. (2013). Brownell (1993) outlines how educators can train female students to overcome these challenges. The other articles discuss general barriers such as chef culture, gender perceptions, and family life (Crafts and Thompson, 1997, 2007; Druckman, 2010; Harris and Giuffre, 2010a,b; Jonsson et al., 2008; Knutson and Schmidgall, 1999; Palmer et al., 2010; Pratten, 2003, 2003b; Pratten and O'Leary, 2007; O'Brien, 2010). Scholes (2011) observes these barriers from the perspective of a TV show. Some authors have attempted to classify these barriers more systematically; Tang Yee and Watson (2019) mentioned lower physical ability, gender discrimination, fewer opportunities for learning and promotion, and work-family conflicts. Kitchen masculinity is cited as the main barrier by Haddaji et al. (2017a,b), whilst other articles quoted professional kitchen masculinity, gender-biased perceptions of their skills and capabilities, and work-life balance (Haddaji et al., 2017b). Two book chapters also reflected this theme (Harris and Giuffre, 2010a,b; Hendley, 2016). This research relied primarily on quantitative methods. Finally, two books, *Skirt Steak* by Druckman (2012) and *Taking the Heat* by Harris and Giuffre (2015), analyze these barriers profusely from interviews with numerous women chefs.

As one of the main barriers pinpointed in the academic literature and media, the stressful kitchen environment received particular attention in fourteen journal articles emphasizing how kitchen violence is embedded in male chefs' culture and creates a hostile kitchen environment where employees, and especially apprentices, feel under-evaluated (Johns and Menzel, 1999; Ineson et al., 2013; Meloury and Signal, 2014; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007; Tongchaiprasit and Ariyabuddhiphongs, 2016; Bloisi and Hoel, 2008; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018; White et al., 2005; Burrow et al., 2015; Nilsson, 2013; Pratten, 2003).

Although some authors point out that certain kitchen behaviour patterns qualified as bullying may actually be a facilitator of team cohesion and functionality (Alexander et al., 2012), the widespread opinion is that bullying negatively affects job satisfaction, work commitment, employees' perceptions of creative behaviour, and, what is more, is relevant to external evaluations of restaurant creativity level, as well as causing burnout and intention to leave the job (Mathisen et al., 2008). Supportive measures are therefore required to improve conditions in the kitchen (Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007)

There are also several reviews of the literature on harassment and bullying among chefs (Bloisi and Hoel, 2008; Ram, 2018). Eight of those articles related to the kitchen environment were published by hospitality journals with a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. Finally, the three main chef autobiographies (Bourdain, 2013; Samuelsson and Chambers, 2012; Ramsay, 2006) emphasize the excessive ultra-masculine and aggressive culture in the professional kitchen, which constitutes a substantial hurdle for women chefs.

Nevertheless, are there enablers that facilitate the progression of women chefs within the haute cuisine career? Few authors have underlined the role that celebrity chefs have played in supporting the advancement of women chefs. Zopiatis and Melanthiou (2019) have published an extensive article on the nature of the celebrity chef circumstance, including a complete literature review. They support the idea that it contributes to breaking the glass ceiling for women's pro-

gression in professional kitchens (p. 550). Though some other authors share this view (Lane and Fisher, 2015; Steno and Friche, 2015), there are contradictory opinions (Scholes, 2011; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2019) criticizing the fact that some celebrity chefs publicly promote a macho culture and gender discrimination. In this research, the difference in celebrity news focused on women chefs is noted, a phenomenon that has not been analyzed academically.

Three qualitative studies analyze entrepreneurship as a strong enabler offering women the possibility of starting a restaurant and enhancing their position from that perspective (Aggestam and Wigren-Kristoferson, 2017; Anderson, 2008; Madichie, 2013). Druckman (2012) and Harris and Giuffre (2015) outline this role in their books on women chefs. Other authors (Albors-Garrigos et al., 2019) consider entrepreneurial activity as a critical enabler based on quantitative analysis.

Enabling facilitators for women chefs has been discussed in qualitative and quantitative studies: patience, team orientation discipline, sense of organization (Kurnaz et al., 2018), and mentoring was underlined by Mac Con Iomaire (2008); Dashper (2019), and Albors-Garrigos et al. (2019). Matwick (2017) suggested the positive influence of female celebrity cookbooks. Orido (2017) focused on enabling the side of employers with equal promotion, training, and career offers. Druckman (2012, p. 26), Harris and Giuffre (2015, p. 40), and Tang Yee and Watson (2019) outlined a strong passion for food on the side of the female chef as a strong enabler. As previously mentioned, Albors-Garrigos et al. (2019) identified, in an international survey study, specific facilitators such as mentoring, entrepreneurship, assertiveness, initiative, and self-challenging attitudes, which were strong supporters of women chefs' promotion.

Finally, is there any indication of those elements crucial for a chef career, especially a woman chef? Several articles discuss this subject. Ferguson and Zukin (1998) interviewed 30 experienced American chefs and sous chefs (male and female) in their careers. They concluded that critical factors for their success were their international experience. In Michelin starred restaurants, it was the relevance of their social networks, their formal culinary education, and especially their ultimate aim to start their restaurant. Guyette (1981) outlines the essential managerial skills, whereas Bartholomew and Garey (1996) highlight an eager passion for food, drive, determination, talent, and a strong work ethic as they secured initial culinary training. In their study on Irish chefs, Allen and Mac Con Iomaire (2016, 2017) mentioned factors such as professionalism, initiative, leadership skills, and interaction with the job context. The latter has been emphasized by Wang et al. (2011) outlining the alignment of the employee with the work organization.

An international study carried out among chefs and culinary students (Haddaji et al., 2018; Albors-Garrigos et al., 2019) revealed several critical factors such as business acumen, a leadership style oriented to subordinates, workplace learning, mentoring, and especially entrepreneurship for a successful career as a female chef. On the other hand, some authors have emphasized workplace learning as a substantial element for women chefs' careers (Cormier-MacBunie et al., 2015; Albors-Garrigos et al., 2019).

In a remarkable but less disseminated study, Black (2016, 2018) studied the case of various women chefs in Lyon and found that these chefs followed both cooking paradigms: masculine (with professional training) and a new feminine order (a traditional domestic education). Both showed distinct leadership and kitchen management styles, authoritarian in the case of the former and mentoring and employee-oriented in the latter. This supports George and Hancer's (2004) study on gender influence on leadership in the kitchen.

Some of the cited literature has identified and discussed the competencies required to be a successful chef: crucial food knowledge and culinary craftsmanship, creativity and innovation, management skills, motivation, leadership, commitment, and passion for food



(Albors-Garrigos et al., 2019; Suhairom et al., 2019; Dornenburg and Page, 2003; Bourdain, 2013; Ferguson and Zukin, 1998; Gergaud et al., 2011; O'Brien, 2010; Balazs, 2002; Brownell, 1993; Hollows, 2016; Ko, 2012).

Concerning the methodology of the research, 42.3 % of the journal articles are based on a quantitative approach. This method is followed by 70 % of hospitality journals, while 80.5 % of sociology and gender journals follow a qualitative approach. When considering the subject codes, enablers, barriers, and careers of women, chefs follow a qualitative anthropological path. Table 4 offers a more detailed analysis. Nevertheless, several qualitative studies shed crucial light on the kitchen environment (Black, 2018; Bourelly, 2010; Balazs, 2001, 2002).

This article contributes specifically to an unexplored field of literature review on gender discrimination in professional and haute cuisine kitchens. Only three articles in this direction — and far from the objective of this research— were found. One is a literature study on diversity and diversity management in the hospitality literature (Manoharan and Singal, 2017), one is a review on tourism gender research (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015), and one is a recent literature review on the general gender aspects of the hospitality literature (Morgan and Pritchard, 2019).

#### 4. Discussion

The main contribution of this article is filling a significant gap since no other systematic literature review of gendering in haute cuisine exists in any academic journal. This article could be the base for future scholars in the field to provide a solid overview of the area. Furthermore, it offers a taxonomy of the literature on specific topics and relates them. Moreover, its comparison with the media search proposes an additional analysis of how academics and the media approach the subject.

From the analysis of the media content in Google, it is evident that the topic of haute cuisine gender discrimination has received sufficient attention from both media and academia, apparently higher from the former concerning the number of items selected by our search. The data reveal that the dissemination of news and TV shows on haute cuisine and cooking had some influence on public interest in the topic.

There are differences in the approaches of the media and academia. The media focuses primarily on two themes: famous and celebrity women chefs, their presentations, events, whether they win awards and accolades, interviews with them, and inaugurations of their restaurants. On the other hand, many internet video clips and news articles center on the discriminatory situation under the general issue of the glass ceiling, why there are so few women chefs, women in the (kitchen) heat, and the financing difficulties of women chef entrepreneurs due to gender or race discrimination. Other subjects of awareness such as the challenges met by women wanting to be chefs, enablers, sexual harassment in the kitchen, race and gender discrimination, or the award of Michelin stars to women chefs have a lower impact. Some video documentaries focused exclusively on the gender discrimination topic within haute cuisine. These analyze in detail and with an anthropological approach the causes of gender discrimination, the kitchen environment, the daily lives of women chefs, and the possible facilitators of female integration into the haute cuisine kitchen. Media outlines the cultural differences between American and European kitchens, the former being more advanced in the struggle of women advancing in professional kitchens.

The academic focus is more scientific and formally organized in its dealing with the origins and causes of discrimination, as well as dissecting the barriers for women's professional progression in kitchen careers and the elements that facilitate it. It could be concluded that hospitality journals had a leading role in discussing the subject from var-

ious points of view. In the case of celebrity chefs, there are articles which analyze in detail its role and influence the discriminatory phenomena. The specific academia approach is comprehensively discussed in this section.

There are similarities between media and academia. On the one hand, celebrity female chefs play a role as changers of public perception of female professional cooking. On the other hand, the news quote enablers such as female chefs' passion for food, feminine leadership styles, mentoring, and team support. Both emphasize the role of restoration entrepreneurship. The media accentuates barriers such as the kitchen environment with institutionalized sexism, racism, and homophobia often being cited. Gender discrimination in hotel kitchens, which are constant, is also mentioned. Academic literature has a more scientific approach and analyzes the barriers and enablers with more detail and using different methods. Chef careers, competencies, and success and its influence on female chefs are also examined in detail and with a formal approach by academia. It must be stressed that hospitality journals led by the International Journal of Hospitality Management have a crucial role in this topic.

The geographical distribution of the news articles and videos indicates an explicit concern of the North American media on the topic and the number of initiatives of associations and private persons promoting the access of women to this industry. The consequence is that the cultural context has an apparent influence, and it has been emphasized as noted previously. The situation in Europe is sluggish, as has been cited by academia (Black, 2018).

Concerning the academic review, the books discussed would be equivalent to the aforementioned documentaries. Following an anthropological approach, they cover daily life in the kitchen discussing either the environment, the barriers, the challenges, or the opportunities and enablers for women chefs.

The content analysis tool allowed us to map the various codes and families of codes in an organized, logical way, as shown in Fig. 3. This figure collects and summarizes the discussion followed in the previous sections. The food and masculinity paradigm initiated our review, and this is a subject that the media does not cover.

Gender job discrimination was presented as a primary consequence and discussed. In restaurant and hotel kitchens, female individuals had to challenge this discrimination either in their promotion or their wages. The glass ceiling thesis was a consequence also discussed by the media. Barriers to women's access to the chef position were discussed abundantly in the analyzed literature. Similarly, the enablers helping women to be chefs are reflected profusely in the academic articles.

Entrepreneurship leads to direct access to the chef position, mentorship, and ability (and need) of women to acquire an excellent level of competences. Both barriers and enablers composed the career of women chefs to success. This success level is underlined by the celebrity discussion and the female presence in social media as a metric of success. The latter is frequent in such media content.

In conclusion, academia (as expected) has a more formal, logical, and profound analysis of the problem, but it shares some commonalities with media content. Further research on women chefs' careers would improve specific research gaps found in this particular field, especially concerning culinary education and its approach in different countries.

#### 5. Management and policy implications

In conclusion, it could be considered how this research contributes to creating a better training and work environment. What are the policy recommendations? And what areas need further study? Following the research findings, our conclusions are as follows.

Culinary schools and apprenticeships have a crucial role in improving the kitchen culture. Mentoring could be organized in the

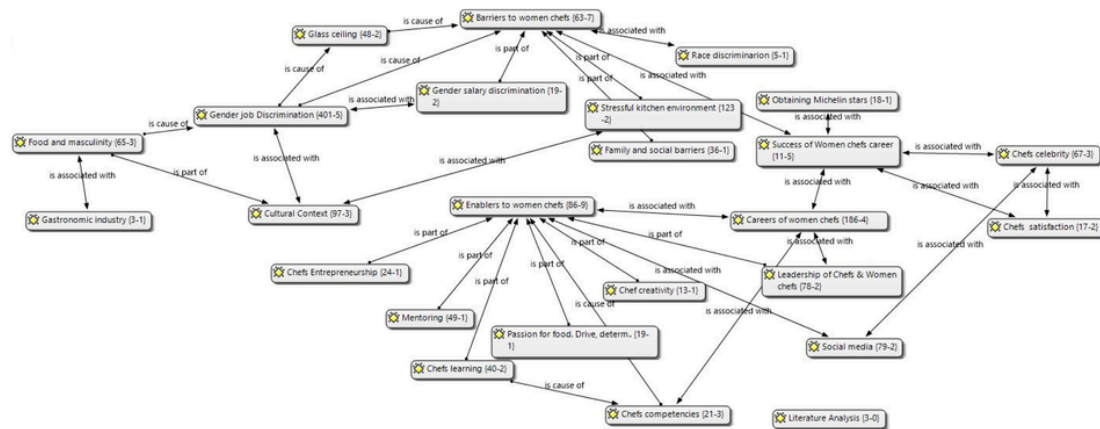


Fig. 3. Code family networks and relationships according to Atlas TI.7.

course of apprenticeships as a key enabler during kitchen training. Culinary education has a fundamental role in educating students in a gender-respectful environment and a constructive and creative team atmosphere as research has found.

The media shows how private non-profit organizations such as The James Beard Foundation with their “Women’s Leadership Programs” led by Deborah Harris, the American Culinary Foundation, Women Chefs And Restaurateurs, and Les Dames d’Escoffier International are already promoting women chef careers through the publicity of successful women chefs and have a decisive role in organizing women chef associations. These associations have a task in promoting kitchen best practices among restaurants. Nevertheless, they are scarce in Europe.

Both academia and media coincide in outlining that a gender balance in kitchens contributes to a better, more creative, and more efficient atmosphere. Hospitality and restaurant managers should bear this in mind when selecting, building, and managing kitchen teams. The work culture of the kitchen is a barrier to all kitchen professionals and is heavier for women because of their expected gender roles and stereotypes. This has negatively impacted their learning, their evaluation, and their recognition as professionals and leaders

Labor authorities, public authorities, and restaurant chefs and managers have a responsibility when drawing up and implementing gender equality policies. They need to challenge the acceptance of aggressive tactics in the kitchen, and they would do well to encourage more open communication. They should consider, in the appraisal process, the benefits of job rotation and variety in work and an appraisal also provides a forum in which to offer support. There is a need to challenge the attitude, common in this sector, that aggression and bullying is a natural and even necessary part of the work environment. They must be aware that occupational culture may act as a change resistance force. Finally, public financing for women chef entrepreneurial activities has been highlighted as a much-needed policy.

We found certain gaps in the reviewed research that would need further study. We did not find material comparing the various culinary schools’ approaches and how they focused on the gender problem (Black, 2018); similar to Horng and Lee (2009), creativity in culinary schools would be needed. Furthermore, additional research should be carried out concerning hospitality restauration and gender since the existing studies do not cover the restaurant areas in general. Finally, female entrepreneurship in haute cuisine and its barriers such as financing has been dealt with by media but not by academia.

## 6. Limitations

Time resources have been the main limitation of this study. The abundant material would have required unlimited resources in that re-

spect. We tried to broaden our academic literature research body by extending the study to the hotel hospitality field, but some material could not be used in some instances due to the low presence of women in the kitchen samples.

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